

THE SYNDICALIST

VOL. 3. No. 11.

CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 1, 1913.

WHOLE No. 59

The Passing Show

THE JAP QUESTION NOT YET SOLVED.

It is now understood that Hearst will not declare war on Japan for the present, at a great sacrifice to his business and that of a few other patriots.

But the Jap is in America and won't leave. He came over as a cheap-skate and was welcomed by the rich ranchers of California. He drove the white man off the ranches, for great a slave as the white man is he can't live on six ounces of rice a day. A wage below the white lifeline was big for the Jap. He could save and send for his cousins. And the ranch owners reveled in joy. Providence had smiled on them. A docile, cheap Jap to do his work. Thank heaven. But the Jap didn't stay docile and cheap, and there's the rub.

Once he had the field to himself he presented his grievances—more wages, better living conditions. He even demanded a bath tub, something the white workers had never dreamt of. And, to make the situation more unpleasant for the poor ranch owners, the Jap's grievances and the fruit always ripened at the same time.

There was no time to look for other help and they couldn't get Jap scabs, anyway. No time even to arbitrate. Ripe fruit had to be picked. But ripe Jap demands had to be satisfied first, see.

Providence made a mistake. These Japs were now worse to deal with than the white man at his highest. And worse, the Jap became a Saboteur. He had no respect for our moral laws of property. He damaged and destroyed sacred private property. He made the business unprofitable, then rented or bought out the tortured ranchers and operated the business himself. Last year he produced fifty per cent of the ranch produce of California. No wonder the white ranch owner jointed the white worker in common cause against the Jap.

The Jap in an economic problem in California. That's why there has been so much noise made about him and that's why we of the East wonder at the animosity developed against the polite little brown man. His color cut some figure too, no doubt.

If he belonged to our race assimilation would begin the day he landed, and we soon couldn't tell him from ourselves. Being brown he is isolated from us perpetually, and, as the struggle for life under our system of greed is terrific, his labor is taken advantage of in the competitive market where the cheap survive.

If the Jap were not an economic problem we would not bother about his color. In every line he enters he drives out the white man, both as employer and worker. The Californians are witnessing themselves being pushed gradually off the ranches, off the garden farms, out of the laundries, etc. Thus they join in the outcry and pass laws forbidding the Jap to own property in their state.

That is a clumsy effort at relief from an evil that should not exist and would not under a sane system of society. There are many problems that cannot be even palliated under this system. The Jap question is one.

One of the brightest men under the sun today, the quickest to learn and copy what is good, he would be a fine fellow worker if we had a system that didn't throw him and us at each other's economic throats the moment he lands with the glad hand of fellowship extended.

This Jap question is a powerful argument against capitalism.

LASHING THE LAWMAKERS.

The Chicago Federation of Labor is interested in "progressive legislation," having nothing else to do. So it bitterly lashed the legislature for not passing the initiative and referendum. Whereupon the legislature arose in its dignity and summoned the officers of the offending federation before it.

"We've got the dope on you," said Margaret Haley, walking delegate of the school teachers' union, who wrote the offending resolution. But the solons were not taking anything stronger than buttermilk, so they dropped Maggie and the bunch as quickly as they could without doing violence to their official dignity. Now the federation has repassed the resolution and defies the lawmakers to touch them for it, asserting they are ready to go to jail in the interest of free speech. The lawsmiths will hardly accept the challenge. They know they are corrupt. Why should they give these labor skates a chance to prove it to you and I, whose votes are so useful, and without whose support the whole law making business would go into bankruptcy?

Oh Lord, but the whole law making trade is fast coming into disrepute, and the time is fast approaching when there won't be a person outside the cemeteries with the least regard for it.

OVER WHERE ACTION SPEAKS.

Across the Rio Grande the fight is still hot, with the odds on the side of the rebels, who seem to be pressing hard upon Mexico City.

The cry for "Land and Liberty" is growing louder despite the attempts of Huerta and his band of murderers to cut every throat that utters it. The scoundrel is actually dictator and is striving to mortgage the country for a hundred million dollars to European bankers in opposition to the Mexican congress and his own cabinet, it is understood, so that when he is dethroned he will have a "stake" to flee with, as old Diaz did.

That Mexico is beyond the power of money to "pacify" it, is admitted now by every close student of sociology. Money was made to serve man. It has become a monster that devours him. It has become his god, his master, his crucifier. Acting on this fact Huerta wants to get money. He knows only too well what money has already done to the people of Mexico, how it has enslaved the great mass and enthroned the few in luxury and ease and he thinks to perpetuate that state of things by the use of more money.

But man sometimes rises superior to the monsters of his own creation and Mexico is a glorious example before us. With all the glare of European gold Huerta cannot muster enough men to protect his privileged class in Mexico.

Failing in his effort to hire Mexican cutthroats, he will endeavor to get this country to supply them, and you and I will be subjected to the deep humiliation of seeing this government go across the line to crush the Mexican revolution. And we and our children for generations will have to pay the enormous expense of that gigantic outrage upon liberty. And thousands of our foolish youth will be sacrificed to the god of war. And army contractors will reap a rich harvest. And army generals will attain to glory. And the widows will weep and the orphans cry and the maimed and fevered will groan and die.

And all, all, because Rockefeller, Otis, Hearst & Co. have titles to land that belongs to the Mexican people.

MAKING CRIME BY LAW.

The bunch of lawyers who make laws for the people of Missouri have made a crime out of the praiseworthy act of giving a person something to eat without charging him for it.

This country is full of law factories, all busy making laws, at a tremendous expense and great inconvenience to the people. By the force of habit and the faculty of indifference the masses submit to the impositions and carry the weight of this law making industry, which has developed alongside the other American industries into the greatest institution of its kind that ever existed.

In no country in the world has law making reached the heights of absurdity attained by America, and this law abolishing "free lunch," the making of a crime out of that which in the very nature of things could not be a crime, is a shining example of its work.

The simplest definition of crime is that it is an unsocial act. To penalize an act of kindness is not only absurd, it is a crime; and when this crime is written in the law book, not through mistake or ignorance, but to serve the sordid ends of business, it is an atrocious offence against society, and ninety-five per cent of the laws are made for that specific purpose.

I am under sentence on the charge of saying things "tending to bring the law into disrepute." In fine, I have been convicted because I refuse to be a party to this gigantic crime against the people, either through a cowardly silence or a venal praise of it.

This law penalizing criticism of the law is a confession of the crookedness of law making bodies. Honest men don't fear criticism. Neither will honest men be silenced by law making crooks. The law itself is its own severest criticism.

It was Tacitus, the wise old Roman historian, that made this observation:

"When the state is most corrupt, then laws are most multiplied."

TROUTMANN TELLS ABOUT LAWRENCE.

By gosh! I believe there is something in that economic deterministic dope, after all. For here comes Fellow Worker Troutmann, concentrator of the I. W. W. wheel of industries general secretary and organizer of the I. W. W. from its inception, but now fallen to the level where he signs himself just "member," coming right out and attacking the centralizing policy of the I. W. W. in true rebel style. I almost think he's become a militant. I hope he has.

"Bill" is regarded as the little father of centralization in the I. W. W., and to hear him denounce the "centralized publicity organs of the I. W. W." and its policy of autocracy in the Lawrence strike sounds rather different.

In a letter in the New York Call of May 2 he charges misappropriation of funds of the Ettor-Giovannitti defense, that the management of the fund was dictated from Chicago headquarters, that a committee of workers were not allowed to investigate how the funds were being distributed, "the original cash book was destroyed to cover up the evidence and proven misuse of funds," and that the two I. W. W. papers were not allowed to publish a letter by him refusing an official position giving as one of his reasons "the outrageous handling of the funds of the Ettor-Giovannitti defense by the self-elected individuals who took control of the funds and the right to investigate from the committee elected by the workers."

He says he was made secretary of the fund at the request of Ettor and Giovannitti, that he found the money coming in for the defense was being paid out to "volunteers" who arrived after the strike was over, that they had to appeal to the capitalist governor to postpone the trial, having no funds to go on with, and that Fred Heslewood, "an emissary of the general office, was dispatched to Lawrence and it was left to him how the funds were to be disposed of."

Many of us have some hint of the bossism in the I. W. W., but we really didn't think it so bad as that.

KEEPING IN THE LIMELIGHT.

Congress and the Socialist party are investigating the West Virginia coal strike. That will help some to keep the names of prominent politicians before the public. It's a long time between elections, and the public soon forgets a fellow. Thus affairs like this offers a splendid opportunity to refresh the workers' memory and let them know we are on the job, always watchful defenders, ever ready to sweep the hated monopolists from the country in a hurricane of hot air.

For sale, cheap—A milk pail. Slightly used. Address T. R., Lobster Bay.

JAY FOX.

THE SYNDICALIST

FORMERLY THE AGITATOR

Issued twice a month, on the first and fifteenth, by
The Syndicalist Publishing Association (Not
Inc.), 1000 S. Paulina Street, Chicago, Ill.
JAY FOX, Editor. W. Z. FOSTER, Manager.

Entered as second-class matter January 20, 1913,
at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the act
of March 3, 1879.

Subscriptions:

One dollar a year.
Six months, fifty cents.
Three months, twenty-five cents.
Two copies yearly to one address, one dollar and
fifty cents.
Bundle orders, 10 and over, 1c a copy.

What art thou, Freedom? Oh! could slaves
Answer from their living graves
This demand, tyrants would flee
Like a dream's dull imagery! —Shelley.

TWENTY QUESTIONS ON DIRECT ACTION.

IV.

If the working class were to gain control, would
not the large majority tyrannize over and exploit the
small minority?

That would be impracticable, because of the few-
ness of your numbers. We could do nothing worse
than to invite you to become one of us. There would
be but one class in the world—the working class.
Then for the first time in all the history of the world
the stigma attached to labor would disappear, for
no longer could anyone become rich merely by com-
manding more labor than he need render.

V.

Why do you spurn the church? Is it not the bul-
wark of our civilization?

It is the bulwark of capitalism. It always has
been on the side of the rich, and has gone hand in
hand with the state in upholding the interests of the
rich against the poor.

It has muddled the workers into abdicating their
rights in this world, believing they will reap their
reward in the next; while the law has supplemented
this by providing regally for the rich to get theirs
right here.

VI.

You must admit, however, that Christ was a friend
of the workingman, and yet you reject Christianity?

Christianity as Christ taught it never has been
tried. When Rome found she could not crush the
revolt of the working class by crucifying its leader,
she killed it by adopting it.

By dropping the revolutionary teachings of Christ
it has since done duty along with its brothers, the
law and the state, in supporting the privileged
classes.

Constantine, in the fourth century, adopted
Christianity because he found the Christians to be
better soldiers than the pagans.

VII.

But the great financiers and the business geniuses
whose brains conceived and organized the big indus-
tries—do they not fill a useful place in society?

We believe if they all were dropped in the sea to-
morrow the work of the world would go on just the
same, only in a much more humane manner, as pro-
duction would then be for use and not for profit.

No human being would then work for twelve
hours a day, and there would be no child labor.

The workers are fast being disillusioned as to the
"gigantic brains" of the great financiers furnishing
workers; they are at last understanding that the ex-
cess of brain power resolves itself into privileges,
stolen, bought and usurped from the government for
their own private and exclusive profit.

Besides, in an industrial commonwealth, the big,
brainy financier can always find a job, if he can ren-
der any useful service.

VIII.

What do you propose to substitute for the present
form of government?

For the present form of government, which is the
business agent of the capitalist class, we propose to

substitute an industrial commonwealth with volun-
tary association in the various industries; the execu-
tives to be chosen from all branches of labor instead
of from a horde of corporation lawyers who at pre-
sent represent solely the interest of the money lords
who sent them there.

With shop committees chosen by the workers in
each group of industry, autonomy in its internal
economy would be assured in each shop, factory or
association.

An industrial commonwealth would be an admin-
istration of THINGS—not a scheme for the exploi-
tation of PERSONS.

The ideal to be attained is the complete abolition
of the wage system; for there can be no freedom
for any so long as there is a spot on earth which
holds a master and a hireling.

IX.

In teaching your doctrine of anti-patriotism, are
you not a traitor to your country?

The working people have no country; their home
is where their jobs are. They are beginning to
understand that the imaginary boundary lines divid-
ing nations are only for the purpose of protecting
the private property of the possessing classes, by
fostering race hatred and keeping the workers divid-
ed.

A capitalist never has allowed his patriotism to
interfere with his profits, and in seeking new mar-
kets for his goods he ignores all boundary lines.
He "loves" his flag because "business follows the
flag."

Also, in the use of human labor power for the
purpose of production he is equally cosmopolitan
in his tastes. He masses together all nationalities,
irrespective of race or color, and by pitting them
against one another he reaps the reward of race and
religious prejudices by getting a larger output.

In this great melting pot of human labor machines
there is being fused a material new and unforeseen
by the exploiters. In their suffering the workers
have been compelled to stand together; when on
strike they have been drawn closer together. They
have cared for each other in sickness and buried
each other's dead. They have eaten from each
other's soup houses and sung each other's national
songs. Having been brothers in misery, they are
learning to fight the working class battle together,
that they may one day be brothers in peace and
happiness.

To him who can read the signs of the times it
must be evident that when universal peace is estab-
lished it will not be brought about by the learned
dignitaries of The Hague, but by the workers of
all the world uniting in declaring that they belong
to no country, but to the WORLD.

X.

Does not your doctrine of anti-militarism invite
foreign invasion?

The movement is international. The workers of
all countries are being educated to refuse to shoot
down their comrades. They have no property to
"protect," therefore they have no reason for killing
each other. Let the possessing classes fight their
own battles. The working class refuses to fight in
any war but the war for its own freedom.

In order to acquire new fields for the extraction
of profits and new markets for the produce of ex-
ploited labor, the sons of the working class are
armed with guns and fired with a holy (?) patriotism
and sent to foreign countries on the mission of
"benevolent assimilation."

From the newly conquered countries come fat
profits; but not for the workers. Their wages re-
main as always, at the point of subsistence.

EVA TREW.

THE TIGER'S CLAWS.

(A Criticism of the Public Schools.)

Our system of education is the last of our glori-
ous institutions to be brought before the bar of
revolutionary criticism. This pamphlet is not the
first, but it is not the least of the fine floggings our
educators have received recently at the hands of
its victims.

It is a delight to see the kids turn on the teachers.
It is one of the hopeful signs of progress. The
child is the last slave whose fight has been taken
up. And when we see him sharpen his pencil and
dig delightfully into the bunch of taskmasters, we
feel there is hope for his early liberation. For no
one can free a fellow half so quickly as himself.

Rosa writes as only a sufferer can write fresh
from the claws of the tiger. She uses strong words.
It's time to strike hard. We have been temporizing
long enough with this institution that is breaking
the spirit of our children and turning them into
patriotic slaves. They don't teach, they force; and
Rosa has as strong a case against the "how" of the
schools as against the "what" of them.

The compulsory feature of our public schools
is perhaps their worst evil. But I am not going to
tell you about this. Let Rosa do it. Get the
pamphlet, from the author, Rosa Markus, 3133 22nd
street, San Francisco, Cal., or from this office, 10c.

SYNDICALISM AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

By Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget.

With an introduction by Peter Kropotkin and a
Foreword by Tom Mann.

Cloth, \$1. Paper Cover, 75c. (For U. S. and Canada
order from The Syndicalist.)

I have read Utopias, from Plato to Morris, but
none of them compare with this. Plato, Morris and
the rest were dreamers pure and simple; these two
Frenchmen are sociologists. They know their sub-
ject from A to Z. They know what they are writing
about. This book does not sooth and put us to
sleep. It rather awakens us from our dreams. It
makes us sit up and look across the pond to see
if the revolution has not really taken place in dear
old France, so real is the image they give us of the
Social Revolution.

This is not because they are fine writers, although
they write good, but it is because the odor of the
factory is on their words. They talk right out of
the shop. They know the industries, the workers'
unions, the workers' thoughts. They know the pos-
sibilities of the workers when united and educated
in their revolutionary syndicates. They are not
of the romantic school of dreamers. They are a
purely modern type of idealist-realists.

This is the golden age of propaganda when the
workers have begun to write their own books. Who
knows the workers' thoughts, who is better able
to give accurate expression to their hopes and as-
pirations than they themselves?

This book answers a thousand questions and it
gives rise to a thousand more. And these are just
the questions that are pressing for solution at
this time. All of them are of the utmost importance.
They relate to the overthrow of the old system and
the establishing of the new one. In giving us a
possible outline to go by we can work out the
problem to much better advantage.

Kropotkin thinks they made the overthrow of
capitalism too easy and that we are liable to be
unprepared for greater resistance when the crash
comes if we follow the authors too literally.

That is a good point for discussion right there and
let us wade into it. For my own part I am inclined
to agree with the old man. Still the vagaries of
the revolution are such that it may not be so much
a question of being prepared as of adaptability to
the immediate necessities of the struggle, which
might be interpreted in the light of preparedness.

I believe we should be ready to wade to the waist
in gore if necessary to the successful achievement
of the revolution. At the same time I would ex-
haust all the resources of persuasion, sympathy and
love to win over the mass of our ignorant fellow
slaves who are in the uniforms of the master class.
This book shows us the possibilities along this line,
and I think for that reason the authors are to be
commended.

For its fine spirit of calmness and toleration, at-
tributes not too generally associated in the minds
of Americans with the French, the book will make
a lasting impression in this country. Its fine temper
gives one the feeling that it has power behind it,
and its ready grasp of the possible problems of
the revolution, reveals a profound study of the sub-
ject. One of the unique features of the book is
the authors' combining of communism with the
"labor note."

Comte built a system of philosophy without God.
"I didn't have any need of Him," he answered Na-
poleon. These more modern Frenchmen built a so-
ciety without a state for the same reason, and it
is not an anarchist society either.

The book is made by the New Int. Publishing
Co., Oxford, England, printed on good paper, has
three original drawings by Will Dyson, and 240
pages. I recommend the cloth bound edition.

JAY FOX.

LEAGUE No. 1, NELSON, B. C.

The unions in Nelson are once more down to spade-work, solidifying their forces and reaching out after the unregenerate. Our friend, the enemy, is much more active than heretofore and is applying the screws, both openly and covertly, with the result that many of the "reds" have had to seek fresh pastures. But the red seed is germinating.

Opposition produces opposition, and oppression breeds retaliation. A fighting master class has always called forth a fighting working class. If they sabot our means of living, why in hell should we not sabot their means of living? Answer that, John M. O'Neill in your official journal, the W. F. of Miner's Magazine.

There is a spirit of unrest abroad among the members of the W. F. of M., ever since the findings of the arbitration board; but the officials are still passing the ballot box around.

However, time is no object to politicians.

The only thing that they respect is a can dangling to their coat tails.

A little fight is still raging in Porcupine, way back East, and some of the miners have been penalized for inciting to strike, under the rules of the arbitration law.

The I. W. W.'s are mixed up in this strike considerable with their usual disruptive tactics, an inevitable result from their teachings regarding all A. F. of L. affiliated unions. Instead of co-operating with the W. F. of M. in their fight with the boss, and using their surplus energies in that direction, they are endeavoring, by fair means and foul, to withdraw the miners from the W. F. of M. into the I. W. W. with consequent confusion. As Syndicalists they would be a solidifying element; as I. W. W.'s they cannot be otherwise than disrupters and thus aid the boss. According to one of the I. W. W. members when questioned in court, the I. W. W. is now 75,000 strong. This sure beats the much-vaunted mushroom growth of many American cities. What gain is there in such falsehoods? Five thousand is nearer the mark.

On Vancouver Island the United Mine Workers are still out. An endeavor is being made to tie up every mine on the island; but as very little spade-work has been done, and the elements much diversified, especially with the little yellow and brown men, not much success has been met with so far. Troublesome times are ahead for Vancouver Island, as the point is a very strategic one.

The new Timber-Workers' Union is making great strides on the coast; and, it is to be hoped, will soon spread into the interior. George Heatherton, an active and prominent member of the W. F. of M., is one of the organizers.

What is the matter with the Vancouver Syndicalists, with such a ripe field before them? They have the opportunity of their lives at present to circulate literature among the striking miners, who must be rotten-ripe for new ideas, when they are so barren of them as to fall back upon the arbitration law. Surely there are at least enough Syndicalists in Vancouver to get together and run a column in The Syndicalist and help matters along!

A sympathetic strike is upon the cards in Port Arthur, Ontario, and the Trades and Labor Council is working on the matter. The street railway employees are out on strike and the company has imported professional strike-breakers with their usual action. The best educative results are produced by strikes. The effete East is surely stretching itself.

Another fizzle for the I. W. W., according to latest reports. The strike on the Kettle Valley Railroad has fallen through. In a way this is to be deplored, as the railroaders are sadly in need of organization, their conditions being the worst of any section of workers. The I. W. W. may be able to do good educative work along class-conscious lines and stir the men to action, but it's about time they learned from McKee's Rocks, Lawrence, and elsewhere that they cannot hold them. Nelson's object lesson came from the lumberjacks. Get inside the labor movement, you "reds," and quit playing around in the backyards.

W. CRAIG.

FIRST SIGNS OF REVOLT IN A. F. OF L.

The refusal of the Seattle Central Labor Council to unseat the Reid faction of the electrical workers when ordered to do so by the A. F. of L. is a wholesome revolt against centralization, against the power up above, against the national and international unions, against the whip hand that reaches out from "Headquarters," against the power that has made of the city labor councils of this country mere ornamental figures.

The local building trades unions have managed to hold some of their autonomy. Thus we have successful local industrial strikes in the building line. Thus when a building trades council says something we listen with respect for we know there is action behind.

But when the central labor council belches out some red hot resolution we blink at each other and look to see what delegates are getting their names into the paper. For that is about all these resolutions mean, since the central councils haven't the power to order a strike to enforce them. The local unions are controlled by their national unions in strike matters and consequently have no power to delegate to their central councils. Therefore there can't be any central concerted action on the part of the local unions. They can talk, and they develop fine orators. They can pass resolutions, and they can lobby in the state legislatures. They can do most anything that is of no consequence. They can't do the one thing that is vital—they can't strike.

At the conventions of the A. F. of L. they are treated in the same way. They are allowed one delegate each, with one vote, while delegates from national unions have as high as 300 votes each. But the city delegates make fine speeches and contribute largely toward the life of the convention. A national delegate with whom I was discussing this matter once, put it briefly and correctly thus: "These city fellows do the talking, but we do the voting." That same delegate had more votes than all the city central bodies in the A. F. of L.

The trouble doesn't lie in the A. F. of L. but in the national unions. The A. F. of L. is the creature of the national unions and so watchful are they of their own authority that they have delegated very little of it to the A. F. of L. "Trade autonomy" is their watchword, and on this shibboleth the American labor movement as it stands today was built.

"Trade autonomy" was emphasized by reason of the experience the workers had in the K. of L. Now the cry of "local autonomy" is beginning to rise out of their experience in national trade unions and this must grow with the growth of labor unions in the big cities and their discovery of the fact that they can do nothing except talk without the consent of their "internationals." When a big central body like the Chicago Federation of Labor, with a membership of nearly a quarter of a million, comes to a realization of the utterly ridiculous condition of impotence it is in, without power to handle local labor affairs only as it begs permission from the headquarters of the hundred national unions whose branches compose its membership, it will raise the cry of "local autonomy" loud.

In France, where the people are just a bit ahead of every other country, the central bodies have forced local autonomy from the national unions. They did it by forming a national body of their own, and standing "pat" on questions that affected them. Now they have an equal voice in national conventions and equal membership in the national executives (the C. G. T.), and they are the best and most radical fighters in the movement.

In this country the work of decentralizing the national unions must begin at once, for the evolution of the trade strike into the industrial strike demands it. The growth of the unions demands it. The growth of intelligence demands it. The growth of solidarity, the increasing need of united local action demands it. On every hand, at every turn in the road of social evolution is the signboard demanding local autonomy.

J. F.

ARE YOU WITH HIM?

The only time you're really alive is when you've got on to something new. And the role of discoverer is always left to the lunatics and the asses. All the safe people always agree that to do anything that's never been done before, to see anything that's never been seen before, to hear anything that's never been heard before, is a blow at society and the state. Then they get their armies and navies busy. And their policemen. And their professors. And they

left up their rifles and their clubs and their scalpels and their textbooks and swear before high heaven that this peril must be averted. And then they land on the fools and asses. With laws. With social ostracism. In schools and newspapers. Even science draws lines. You're a goner if you wander beyond the frontiers set by these masters of life. Well—here goes. Me for assland.—Horace Traubel.

SYNDICALISM VS. SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

That Syndicalism is having considerable effect upon the Socialist "pollys" in "dear old H'england" goes without saying; in fact, I don't think we "Colonials" quite realize its full force.

A movement can always be gauged by the strength of the attack. Where there is nothing to attack, it stands to reason there can be no attack.

The attack upon the Syndicalists in Britain is strong and widespread, especially from the "polly" quarter.

They have become obsessed with it.

Robert Blatchford has just taken the matter in hand, more in sorrow than in anger; and in a four-column article in the Clarion he asks, "What is the matter with Socialism?"

"Nothing," he replies. "Socialism is all right."

But—

We don't understand democracy.

We haven't elected the proper men to Parliament.

The Liberals and Tories have stolen so much of our scheme of state action, and bungled all the precise details, and confused all the fine shades (emphasis on the fine shades).

The Independent Labor party has become the labor party, and lost that very important qualifying adjective.

The movement is being throttled by a clique.

And many more "buts" along the same lines.

That there is a slump in Socialism he acknowledges, and gauges the reasons very clearly as a growing hostility to the state and state interference, and lack of faith in parliamentary action.

"But," he reiterates, "we have not elected the right men, and we have not begun to be democrats."

That is the solution so far as Blatchford is concerned.

To this we Syndicalists reply:

The Syndicalist's Reply.

But—

We don't want to elect anyone to Parliament, whether "proper men" or not.

We don't care a hoot how many of the "fine shades" and "precise details" the Liberals and Tories may steal.

Nor do we care whether the Independent Labor party becomes the Labor party, or any other party of the third part.

Nor do we want to understand democracy; to be ruled by the "dear peepul," or by anyone else.

We don't draw any "fine shades" between "state government" and "state management."

We consider that neither the state nor Parliament, whether they be two in one, or one in two, are fit and proper persons to manage industry, from the very nature of their prime function, which is legislative; and further, by the very nature of the method by which these prime functionaries are elected, which is by districts, not by industries.

Like Hennessy, we are "agin the government" on principle.

If by Socialism were meant—as the word in itself actually means—*social ownership*, then most assuredly "Socialism is all right." But what in thunder has social ownership got to do with the state and Parliament, or the state and Parliament got to do with social ownership?

The state is a class weapon. It originated with classes and class warfare, and class government; and the death of classes will be the death of the state and of government.

We care neither for state government, nor state management, nor the state in any state or form.

We want an industrial administration along industrial lines—an administration of things by those concerned in the manufacture of things.

No! Robert Blatchford, the difference is an irreconcilable one. It is not about men, whether proper or improper. It is a difference in fundamentals, in principles, and in tactics.

These three, and the greatest of these is tactics.

WM. CRAIG.

London.—The latest device of the suffragettes is to cover the roads with nails thrust through pieces of stiff leather bearing a suffragette inscription, with the object of puncturing automobile tires.

"MUTUAL INTEREST" POLICY TRIED.

About five years ago "the American Railway and Investors' Association" was organized. This association was based on the alleged community of interests between capital and labor. The plan was that the railroad workers would unite with the railroad owners to use their political and social prestige to prevent the passage of legislation adverse to the railroads, and the railroads in their turn, having a free hand in the matter of rates, would be enabled to pay the men higher wages. It was a perfectly legitimate business proposition—a combination of capital and labor to hold up the public for their individual benefit.

To give the thing a good send-off, T. H. Morrissey, ex-president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, was made president at a salary of \$10,000 a year. Elaborate headquarters were established in Chicago and tons of alluring literature was spread among the railroad men, expounding the beauties of the scheme. Railroad officials were given the tip to join and use their influence with the men.

Surely if these workmen believed in the mutual interest of capital and labor, as the S. L. Peers and the I. W.'s had been telling them they did, here was their chance to make good. The railroads were furnishing the money to promote the new union. All they needed was to get in and work together for the good of all. It was an all-inclusive industrial union. The second hand the stockholder were to be brothers, equals, in this new union, each working for the good of the other; an ideal "community of interest" affair.

Did the workers join? They didn't. I'll write it again, black, they didn't.

On July 1 the association will be officially dissolved and "Brother" Morrissey will be made assistant to the vice-president of the C. B. & Q. He is a brainy chap and must be taken care of. But smart as he is he couldn't convince the railroad men there is a community of interest between them and the stockholders.

The reason given by Morrissey for the failure of the project is the hostile attitude taken against it by the radical minority in the railroad unions. But the general disdain of the mutual love dope must be pretty strong or the powerful influences that Morrissey had behind him would have offset the effect of the radicals. Out of the 1,700,000 railroaders he should have been able to get enough to keep things moving.

The railroad men are generally looked upon as the most conservative men in the labor movement, and if they will not stand for the mutual interest dope, what may be think of the rest?

We will have to revise our soapbox preachments, and let us do it gladly, for this is one of the most portentous things that has happened in America. Onward Rebels, onward.

WM. Z. FOSTER.

LABOR UNIONS AND INSURANCE.

A great number of labor unions are deviating more and more from their real object—the transformation of society now socially unorganized, a transformation that would end the present relation of employers and the workers now wrongly dependent upon them.

In order to retain some members and recruit others, unions assume the burden of sick and death benefits—great obstacles in the path of progress.

Iniquities are thus perpetuated by the unions, for being assured that they will get help during periods of incapacity, members submit to conditions which would otherwise be unbearable.

Naturally, employers encourage such deviation of the unions from their true functions, knowing full well how such action very much reduces the animosity which exists between them and their workpeople; causes the workers to avoid any contemplation of the future; and in fact patches up and perpetuates the abominable reign of capitalism.

From a sentimental point of view, sick and death benefits in connection with labor unions may seem to be part of the remedy for industrial evils, but this supposition is based on a wrong interpretation of what are human rights, and leads only to an abyss of suffering, servitude and pauperism.

Under present conditions thousands of workers are condemned to death by their trades; they contract the most dreadful diseases, whilst expecting to derive from their calling the means of subsistence; and for such there is no emancipation in sick or funeral benefits. They have to remain at their

tasks with a clear vision of their ultimate fate.

I do not condemn mutual societies founded for the purpose of relief in sickness and the burial of the dead. That is all well and good. But labor unions certainly ought not to be sick benefit clubs. While commending the members of the Red Cross Societies who risk limb and life in attending the wounded on the battlefield, let it never be forgotten that they who strive to bring about the suppression of war are engaged in doing far nobler and more effectual work.

The true work of unionists is to make a supreme effort to destroy the system which is undermining the health of all workers. This great work must be done sooner or later. The question of sickness and of disease amongst the workers is a social question, and incorporates such questions as those of housing, wages, hours of labor, methods of working, factory arrangements, and it is also a school question.

With earnest and deep thinking as to present social conditions we must recognize the fact that our industrial institutions are not based upon a just principle. At every step we are now faced with the contrasts, imperfections and evils of the present systems—meeting with wealth and poverty, luxury and misery, idleness and hard and grinding toil, physical and moral well-being alongside filthiness and low mentality, education and ignorance—to be found everywhere side by side; pleasure and happiness being for those who do not produce; poverty and sorrow, with all their attendant horrors reserved for the producers.

To bring about a reign of justice and equality, the labor unions must keep up the fighting spirit of their members, not kill it by the introduction into their ranks of such palliatives as these so-called benefits.

Let us realize that we too are entitled to feast at nature's banquets, let us endeavor to realize the advantage of a higher phase of life, and then we shall acquire what will enable us to obtain it.

JULES SCARCERIAUX,
Local Union 45, N. B. of O. P.

OUR AUSTRALIAN LETTER.

Dear Comrade:—Strikes have been very prominent lately in the N. S. W. The ferrymen of Sydney harbor struck for an eight-hour day and succeeded within a week. Then followed the Railway Workers who demanded that all railway workers should join the union; but the action of the Labor Government assisted by the Commissioner of Railways, who issued an ultimatum that if they did not return to work by 1 o'clock on Thursday the places of the strikers would be filled by the blacklegs. Needless to say the threat succeeded.

The most traitorous act was that of the Labor Premier, McGowan, who threatened to jail the leaders if the strike continued. The Labor Minister referred to the strikers as "Red Ragers" who probably were in the pay of the Liberals and by their action had dealt a severe blow at Nationalization of the railroads. The men were bullied into submission by the Labor Government who were the employers. The Railway Workers struck against the Labor Government who opposed unionism.

Another strike is in progress at Broken Hill, owing to the street car company refusing to recognize the union. Broken Hill is cut off from connection with other parts of Australia through this stopping of railway traffic. The situation is very grave owing to the food supply running short.

The Labor Premier has been appealed to but states he can do nothing.

A resolution was carried that the unionists should seize the street railway and operate it to obtain food and supplies from Adelaide, but it was revoked the next day.

So we are muddling on in Australia, everything topsy turvy, all pointing to Direct Action and the Social Revolution.

J. W. FLEMING.

WASHINGTON FOR INDUSTRIALISM.

At the Washington State Federation of Labor convention the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, the great organizations of capital with which we are daily being brought into conflict, are ever concentrating into fewer hands, representing greater wealth and power, and

"Whereas, the organizations of labor, on the other hand, in continuing their present craft form of organization, are apparently no longer in a position to effectively cope with the power of organized capital

to the extent of compelling recognition of the rights of the organized working class; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we endorse the industrial form of organization, along the lines of that adopted by the United Mine Workers of America, which embraces all men employed in the coal mining industry, regardless of whether they mine coal, saw wood or work with iron in machine shops; and, be it further

"Resolved, That we instruct our representative to the next international convention of the American Federation of Labor to use his efforts to have a similar resolution adopted by the parent body of this organization, to the end that the principle of organization along industrial lines may be substituted for the present craft form, which allows one craft in a particular industry to go on strike, while other affiliated craft unions in the same industry continue at work; a process which while emptying our treasuries, is eminently satisfactory to the gigantic corporations who are in control of modern industry."

DON'T MAKE WAR ON WORDS.

"Of all the miserable, unprofitable, inglorious wars in the world is the war against words. Let men say just what they like. * * * We have nothing to do with a man's words or a man's thoughts, except to put against them better words or better thoughts, and so to win the great moral and intellectual duel that is always going on, and on which all progress depends."—Auberon Herbert.

Books and Pamphlets For Sale by the Syndicalist Publishing Association.

A Physician in the House, Dr. J. H. Greer.....	\$2.00
Ancient Society, Lewis H. Morgan.....	1.50
Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, Berkman.....	1.50
The Labor Movement in France, Louis Levine.....	1.50
What Is Property? P. Proudhon.....	1.50
Life of Albert R. Parsons, with a history of the Anarchist trial.....	1.50
Liberty and the Great Libertarians, Sprading.....	1.50
Flowers of the Mind, the best poems.....	1.00
Anarchism and Other Essays, Emma Goldman.....	1.10
Love's Coming of Age, Edward Carpenter.....	1.00
Syndicalism and the Co-Operative Commonwealth, Pouget & Pataud.....	1.00
The Physical Basis of Mind and Morale, Fitch.....	1.00
Thoughts of a Fool.....	1.00
The Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola.....	1.00
The Positive School of Criminology, E. Ferri.....	.50
Origin of the Family, Property, State, Engels.....	.50
The Evolution of Property, P. Lafargue.....	.50
Slavery of Our Times, Tolstoy.....	.65
Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies, P. Lafargue.....	.50
Human, All Too Human, Nietzsche.....	.50
Francisco Ferrer; His Life, Work and Martyrdom.....	.25
Sabotage, Emile Pouget.....	.25
God and the State, with portrait, Bakunin.....	.20
Modern Science and Anarchism, Kropotkin.....	.20
Modern Science and Anarchism, Kropotkin.....	.15
Law and Authority, Peter Kropotkin.....	.10
Non-Governmental Society, Edward Carpenter.....	.10
The State; Its Historic Role, Kropotkin.....	.10
Syndicalism, Ford and Foster.....	.10
The Tiger's Claws, Criticism of Schools. R. Markus.....	.10
Industrial Conspiracies, Clarence Darrow.....	.10
Concentration of Capital, a Marxian Fallacy.....	.05
Direct Action, Volairine de Cleyre.....	.05
Law and Authority, Kropotkin.....	.05
The Wage System; Revolutionary Government.....	.05
Appeal to the Young, Kropotkin.....	.05
Evolution and Revolution, Recluse.....	.05
Trade Unionism and Anarchism, Jay Fox.....	.05
The Pyramid of Tyranny, Nieuwenhuis.....	.05
The Mexican Revolution, W. C. Owen.....	.05
Anarchist Communism, Kropotkin.....	.05
Direct Action vs. Legislation, J. B. Smith.....	.05
The Rational Education of Children, Ferrer.....	.05

COMMUNISTIC LIBRARY—Meets every Thursday night from 8 to 10 o'clock; every Sunday morning from 10 to 12 o'clock. Free lessons in English and Esperanto. Books in any language free. 700 Hudson street, Trenton, N. J.

FOR SALE—Cheap—In Home Colony; an acre with four-room house, chicken house, bearing trees; good view. Apply M., Rasnick Home, Lakebay, Wash.

"WHY?" A magazine of the Revolution. 1423 S. Washington street, Tacoma, Wash. Monthly, 60c a year.

THE SOCIAL WAR. A revolutionary weekly. 227 West St., New York. Subscription voluntary.

MOTHER EARTH. Monthly. Social science and literature. 55 W. 28th St., New York. Yearly, \$1.

RADICAL BOOKS. Write to the House of Gowrie for a copy of their book and pamphlet catalogue. 364 Wendell St., Chicago. It's full of new things.